



THE  
ANSVVERE

OF

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER TO A  
SVPPPLICATION PREFERRED

by Mr WALTER TRAVERS TO  
the H.H. Lords of the Pri.  
*vie Counsell.*



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## M<sup>r</sup> HOOKERS ANSVVER

to the Supplication that *M<sup>r</sup> Travers*  
made to the Counsell.

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TO MY LORD OF CANTER.  
BY RIE HIS GRACE.

**M**Y dutie in most humble wisere-  
membred. May it please your  
Grace to vnderstand, that where-  
as there hath beene a late contro-  
versie raised in the Temple, and  
persued by *M. Travers* vpon con-  
ceit taken at some words by me  
vttered with a most simple and harmelesse meaning in  
the heate of which persuit, after three publique in-  
uestigues silence being enioined him by authority, he hath  
herevpon for defence of his proceedings, both presen-  
ted the right Honorable LL. and others of Her Maie-  
sties privie Counsell with a writing, and also caused or  
suffered the same to be copied out and spred through  
the hands of so many, that welnigh al sorts of me haue  
it in their bosomes; the matters wherewith I am there-  
in charged being of such qualitie as they are, and my  
selfe being better knowne to your Grace, then to any

of their HH. besides ; I have chosen to offer to your Graces hands, a plaine declaration of my innocencie in all those things wherewith I am so hardly and so heavily charged, least if I still remaine silent, that which I doe for quietnesse sake be taken as an argument that I lacke what to speake truly and iustly in mine owne defence.

2 First, because M. *Travers* thinketh it is expedient to breed an opinion in mens minds, that the roote of all inconvenient events which are now sprung out, is the furlly and vnpeaceable disposition of the man with whom he hath to doe, therefore the first in the ranke of accusations laid against me is my inconformitie which haue so little inclined to so many and so earnest exhortations and conferences, as my selfe he saith can witnes to haue been spent vpon me, for my better fashioning vnto good correspondence and agreement.

3 Indeed when at the first, by meanes of speciall welwillers, without any suit of mine, as they very well knowe, (although I do not thinke it had been a mortall sinne in a reasonable sort to haue shewed a moderate desire that way) yet when by their indeavour without instigation of mine some reverend and honorable, favorably affecting me had procured her Maiesties grant of the place, at the very point of my entring thereinto, the evening before I was first to preach, hee came and two other Gentlemen ioined with him: the effect of his conference then was, that he thought it his duty to advise me not to enter with a strong hand, but to change my purpose of preaching there the next day, and to stay till he had given notice of me to the Con-



gregation, that so their allowance might seale my calling. The effect of myne answer was, that as in place where such order is, I would not breake it; so here where it never was, I might not of mine owne head take vpon me to begin it; but liking very well the motion, for the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requested him not to mislike my answer though it were not correspondent to his mind.

4 When this had so disp'eased some, that whatsoever was afterwards done, or spoken by me, it offended their taste, angry informations were daily sent out, intelligence given far and wide what a dangerous enemy was crept in, the worst that iealousie could imagin was spoken and written to so many, that at the length some knowing me wel, and perceiuing how iniurious the reports were which grew daily more & more vnto my discredit; wrought meanes to bring M<sup>r</sup> Travers and me to a second conference. Wherin when a cōmon friend vnto vs both, had quietly requested him to vtter those things wherewith he found himselfe any way grieved, he first renewed the memory of my entring into this charge by vertue only of an humane creature; for so the want of that \* formalitie of popular allowance was then censured; & vnto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of causlesse surmyses; as that I had conspired against him, & that I sought superiority over him; & partly of faults which to note I should haue thought it a greater offence then to commit, if I did account them faults and had heard them so curiously observed in any other then my selfe, they are such sillie things; as praying in the entrance of my sermons only & not

\* A meer formalitie it had bin to mee in that place where eas no man had ever vsed it before me; so it could neither further me if I did vse it, nor hinder me if I did not.

in the end, naming Bishops in my prayer, kneeling whē I pray, and kneeling when I receaue the Communion with such like, which I would be as loath to recite as I was sory to heare them obiected, if the rehearfall thereof were not by him thus wrested from me. These are the conferences wherewith I haue beene wooed to entertaine peace and good agreement.

5 As for the vehement exhortations he speaketh of, I would gladly knowe some reason wherefore he thought them needful to be vsed. Was there any thing found in my speeches or dealings which gaue the occasion, who are studious of peace, to thinke that I deposed my selfe to some vnquiet kind of proceedings? Surely the speciall providence of God, I doe now see it was, that the first words I spake in this place, should make the first thing whereof I am accused, to appeare not only vntrue, but improbable to as many as then heard me with indifferent eares, & doe I doubt not in their consciences cleere me of this suspition. Howbeit I graunt this were nothing if it might bee shewed that my deeds following were not sutable to my words. If I had spoken of peace at the first and afterwards sought to molest and grieue him, by crossing him in his function, by storming if my pleasure were not asked and my will obeyed in the least occurrences, by carping needlessly sometimes at the manner of his teaching; sometimes at this, sometimes at that point of his doctrine; I might then with some likelyhood haue beene blamed as one disdainning a peaceable hand whē it hath beene offered. But if I be able (as I am) to proue, that my selfe haue now a full yeare together borne the con-

tinu.

tinuance of such dealings, not only without any manner of resistance; but also without any such complaint as might let or hinder him in his course; J see no cause in the world, why of this I should be accused, vnlesse it be least J should accuse, which J meant not. If therefore I haue given him occasion to vse conferences and exhortations vnto peace, if when they were bestowed vpon me J haue despised them; it will not bee hard to shewe some one word or deed wherwith J haue gone about to worke disturbance: one is not much, J require but one. Only I require if any thing bee shewed, it may be proved, and not objected only as this is, *That I haue ioined with such as haue alwaies opposed to any good order in this Church, and made themselves to be thought indisposed to the present estate and proceedings.* The wordes haue reference as it seemeth, vnto some such things as being attempted before my coming to the Temple, went not so effectually perhaps forward as hee which devised them would haue wished. An order as I learne there was tendred, that Communicants should neither kneele, as in the most places of the Realme; nor sit as in this place the custome is; but walk to the one side of the Table, and there standing till they had receiued, passe afterwarde away round about by the other. Which being on a sudden begun to be practised in the Church, some sat wondering what it should meane, others deliberating what to doe: till such time as at length by name one of them being called openly ther-vnto, requested that they might do as they had bin accustomed which was granted, and as M. Travers had ministred his way to the rest, so a Curate was sent to mini-

minister to them after their way. Which vnprosperous beginning of a thing, (saying only for the inconvenience of needles alterations otherwise harmelesse) did so disgrace that order in their concept who had to allow or disallow it, that it tooke no place. For neither they could ever induce themselues to thinke it good, & it so much offended *M<sup>r</sup> Travers* who supposed it to be the best, that he since that time, although contented himselfe to receiue it as they do at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meete they should ever receiue it out of his, which would not admit that order of receiving it, and therefore in my time hath bene alwaies present not to minister but only to be ministred vnto.

6 Another order there was likewise devised but an order of much more waight and importance. This foile in respect of certaine immunities & other specialties belonging vnto it seemed likely to bear that which in other places of the Realme of Englād doth not take. For which cause request was made to some of her Maiesties Privie Counsell, that whereas it is provided by a statute there should be collectors & sidemen in Churches, which thing or somewhat correspondent vnto it this place did greatly want, it would please their H<sup>H</sup>. to motion such a matter to the Ancients of the Temple. And according to their honorable manner of helping forward al motions so grounded, they wrote their letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Wherevpon although these houles never had vse of such collectors & sidemen as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a box to receiue mens devotion for the poore, appointing the *Treasurer* of both houses to take care for

for bestowing it where neede is, and graunting further that if any could be intreated (as in the end some were) to vndertake the labour of observing mens slacknesse in diuine duties they should be allowed, their complaints hard all times, and the faults they complained of, if *M<sup>r</sup> Alueyes* priuate admonition did not serue, then by some other meanes redressed, but according to the old received orders of both houses. Whereby the substance of their H. letters were indeed fully satisfied. Yet because *M<sup>r</sup> Travers* inteded not this, but as it seemed an other thing, therefore notwithstanding the orders which haue beene taken and for any thing I know do stand still in as much force in this Church now as at any time heretofore: Hee complaineth much the good orders which he doth meane haue beene withstood. Now it were hard if as many, as any way oppose vnto these and the like orders in his perswasion good, doe thereby make themselves to be thought dislikers of the present state and proceedings. If they whom he aimeth at haue any otherwise made themselves to be thought such, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will I hope disclose to whom it appertaineth, both the persons whō he thinketh & the causes why he thinketh them so ill affected. But whatsoeuer the men be, doe their faults make me faulty? They do if I ioine my selfe with them. I beseech him therefore to declare wherein I haue ioined with them. Other ioining then this with any man here I cannot imagin: It may be I haue talked or walked or eaten or interchangeably vsed the duties of common humanitie with some such as he is hardly perswaded of. For I know no law of God or man by force whereof they

should be as Heathens and Publicans vnto me that are not gracious in the eyes of another man perhaps without cause, or if with cause, yet such cause as he is privie vnto and not I. Could he or any reasonable man thinke it a charitable course in me to obserue them that shewe by externall courtesies a favorable inclination towards him, and if I spy out any one amongst them of whom I thinke not well, herevpon to draw such an accusation as this against him and to offer it where hee hath given vp his against me? Which notwithstanding I will acknowledge to be iust and reasonable if hee or any man liuing shall shew that I vse as much as the bare familiar companie but of one who by word or deede hath euer giuen me cause to suspect or coniecture him such as here they are teamed with whom complaint is made that I inuie my selfe. This being spoken therefore & written without all possibilitie of prooffe, doth not *Mr Travers* giue me over great cause to stand in some fear least hee make to little conscience how hee vseth his tongue or penne? These things are not laide against me for nothing, they are to some purpose if they take place. For in a minde perswaded that I am as he deciphereth me, one which refuse to be at peace with such as embrace the truth, & side my selfe with men sinisterly affected therevnto, any thing that shalbe spoken concerning the vnfoundnes of my Doctrine cannot chuse but be favorably entertained. This presupposed it will haue likelyhood enough which afterwarde followeth that *many of my Sermons haue tasted of some lower leaven or other, that in them he hath discovered sundrie vnfound matters.* A thing much to be lamented that such a place



as this which might haue beene so well provided for, hath falne into the hands of one no better instructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found that hee iudgeth my words, as they do colours which looke vpon them with greene spectacles, and thinke that which they see is greene, when indeed that is greene whereby they see.

7 Touching the first point of his discovery which is about the matter of Predestination, to set down that I spake, (for I haue it written) to declare and confirme the severall branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I haue so many things to touch that I can but touch them only. Neither is it herein so needfull for me to iustifie my speech, when the verie place and presence where I spake doth it selfe speake sufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blind Alley, or vttered where none was to heare it that had skill with authoritie to controll, or covertly insinuated by some glyding sentence.

8 That which I taught was at Paules Crosse; it was not hudled in amongst other matters in such sort that it could passe without noting. it was opened, it was proued, it was some reasonable time stood vpon. I see not which way my L. of London, who was present and heard it, can excuse so great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controlement afterwarde, to heare any man there teach otherwise then *the word of God doth*, not as it is vnderstood by the privat interpretation of some one or two men, or by a speciall construction receaued in some few bookes, but as it is vnderstood by all Churches professing the Gospell, by them all



and therefore even by our owne also amongst others. A man that did mean to proue that he speaketh, would surely take the measure of his words shorter.

9 The next thing discovered, is an opinion about the assurance of mens perswasion in matters of faith, I haue taught he saith; *That the assurance of things which we beleue by the word, is not so certaine as of that we perceiue by sence.* And is it as certaine? Yea, I taught as hee him selfe I trust will not deny, that the things which God doth promise in his word, are surer vnto vs then any thing we touch, handle, or see; but are we so sure & certaine of them? if we bee, why doth God so often proue his promises vnto vs, as hee doth by arguments taken from our sensible experience? Wee must be surer of the prooffe then of the thing proved, otherwise it is no prooffe. How is it, that if ten men doe all look vpon the moone, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the moon as another: but many beleuing one and the same promises, all haue not one and the same fulnesse of perswasion? How falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sence can bee no surer of it then they are, whereas the strongest in faith that liueth vpon the earth, hath alwaies need to labour, and strīue, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spirituall things, may grow, increase, and be augmented.

10 The Sermon wherein I haue spoken somewhat largely of this point, was long before this late controverſie rose betweene him and me, vpon request of some of my friends seene, & read by many, & amongst many, some who are thought able to discern: and I ne-

ver heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing vnfound matter. My case were very hard, if as oft as any thing I speake displeasing one mans tast, my doctrine vpon his only word should bee taken for lower leuen.

11 The rest of this discoverie is all about the matter now in question, wherein hee hath two faults predominant, which would tyre out any that should answer vnto every point severally: vnapt speaking of schoole controversies; and ofiny wordes sometimes so vntoward a reciting, that hee which should promise to drawe a mans countenance and did indeed expresse the parts at leastwise the most of them truly, but perversely place them, could not represent a more offensive visage, then vnto me my owne speech seemeth in some places as he hath ordered it. For answer wherevnto, that writing is sufficient wherein I haue set down both my words and meaning in such sort, that were this accusation doth depraue the one, and either misinterpret, or without iust cause mislike the other, it will appeare so plainly that I may spare very well to take vpon me a new and a needlesse labour here.

12 Only at one thing which is there to be found, because Mr *Travers* doth here seeme to take such a speciall advantage, as if the matter were vnanswerable, hee constraineth me either to detect his oversight, or to confesse mine owne in it. In setting the question betweene the Church of Rome and vs about Grace and Iustification, least I should giue them an occasion to say, as commonly they doe, that when wee cannot refute their opinions, we propose to our selues such in-

steed of theirs as we can refuse, I tooke it for the best and most perspicuous way of teaching, to declare first, how far we doe agree, and then to shew our disagreement; not generally (as Mr Travers his words would

His words be these. *The next Saboth day after this M. Hooker kept the way he had entered into before, & bestowed his whole hower and more only upon the questions hee had moved and maintained. Wherein hee so set out the agreement of the Church of Rome with us and their disagreement from us, as if wee had consented in the greatest and waightiest points, and differed only in certaine smaller matters. Which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not such as he would have made men beleene: The one, in that hee said they acknowledge all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin, though some of them freed her from sinne for the Councell of Trent holdeth that shee was free from sinne: Another in that he said, They teach Christs righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sinne, and differ from us only in the applying of it. For Thom. Aquinas their chiefe schooleman & Archbisch. Catharinus teach that Christ tooke away only originall sin, and that the rest are to bee taken away by our selves: yet the Councell of Trent teacheth that the righteousness whereby wee are righteous in Gods sight is inherent righteousness, which must needs bee of our owne workes, and cannot be understood of the righteousness inherent only in Christs person & accounted unto us.*

carrie it, for the easier fasting that vpon me, wherein saving only by him I was never in my life touched; but about the matter only of iustificatiō for farther I had no cause to meddle at that time. What was then my offence in this case? I did as hee saith so set it out as if wee had consented in the greatest and waightiest points & differed onely in smaller matters. It will not bee found when it commeth to the ballance a light difference where we disagree, as I did acknowledge that we doe about the very essence of the medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease. Did I goe about to make a shew of agreement in the waightiest points, and was I so fond as not to conceale our disagreement.

agreement about this? J doe wish that some indifferencie were vled by them that haue taken the waighing of my words.

13 Yea but our agreement is not such in two of the chiefeſt points, as J would haue men beleue it is: and what are they? The one is J ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners even the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of the free her from ſinne.* Put the caſe J had affirmed that onely ſome of them free her from ſinne, and had delivered it as the moſt currant opinion amongſt them, that ſhee was conceaued in ſin: doth not *Bona uenture* ſay plainly, *Omnes ſerē*; In a manner all men doe hold this? noth he not bring many reaſons wherefore all men ſhould hold it? Were their voices ſince that time ever counted, and their number found ſmaller which hold it, then theirs that hold the contrary? Let the queſtion then be whether J might ſay the moſt of them *acknowledged all men ſinners even the bleſſed Virgin her ſelfe.* To ſhew that their generall receiued opinion is the contrarie, the Tridentine Councell is alleaged peradventure not altogether ſo conſiderately. For if that Councell haue by reſolute determinatiō freed her, if it hold as *M. Travers* ſaith it doth, that ſhee was free from ſin, then muſt the Church of Rome needs condemne the that holde the contrarie. For what that Councell holdeth, the ſame they all doe and muſt hold. But in the Church of Rome who knoweth not that it is a thing indifferent to thinke and defend the one or the other? So that by this argument; the Councell of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from ſinne. *Ergo* it is plaine that none of them may, and therefore vntrue that moſt of them doe acknowledge

ledge her a sinner were forcible to overthrowe my supposed assertion, if it were true that the Councell did hold this. But to the end it may clearly appeare how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary I will open what many do conceiue of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of Trent perceived that if they should define of this matter, it would be dangerous howsoeuer it were determined. If they had freed her from her originall sinne, the reasons against them are vnanswerable which *Bonaventure* and others do alleadge, but especially *Thomas* whose line as much as may be they follow. Againe if they did resolue the other way, they should controll themselues in an other thing which in no case might be altered. For they professe to keepe no daie holie in the honor of an vnholie thing; and the Virgins conception they honor with a \* Feast; which they could not abrogate without cancelling a constitution of *Xystus quartus*. And that which is worse the worlde might perhaps herevpon suspect, that if the Church of Rome did amisse before in this, it is not impossible for her to faile in other things. In the end they did wisely quote out their Canon by a middle thred, establishing the feast of the Virgins conception, and leaving the other question doubtfull as they found it: giving only a caveat that no man should take the decree which pronounceth all menkind originallie

\* This doth much trouble Thomas holding her conception stained with the naturall blemish inherēt in mortall seed. And therefore he putteth it off with two Answers; the one that the Church of Rome doth not allow but

tolerate the Feast, which answer now will not serue; the other that being sure shee was sanctified before birth, but vn sure how long a while after her conception, therefore vnder the name of her conception day, they honour the time of her sanctification. So that besides this they haue now no soder to make the certaine allowance of their feast, and their vncertaine sentence concerning her sinne to cleaue together. Thomas 3. part. quæst. 27. art. 1. ad 1<sup>m</sup> & 3<sup>m</sup>.

finfull, for a definitiue sentence concerning the blessed Virgin. This in my sight is plaine by their owne words, *Declarat hac ipsa sancta Synodus &c.* wherefore our countrymen at Rhemes mentioning this point are marvelous warie how they speake; they touch it as though it were a hot cole: *Many godly devout men iudge that our blessed Lady was neither borne nor conceived in sinne.* Is it their wont to speake nicely of things definitiue set downe in that councell? In like sort wee finde that the rest which haue since the time of the *Tridentine* Synod written of originall sinne, are in this point for the most part either silent or very sparing in speech; and when they speake either doubtfull what to thinke, or whatsoever they thinke themselves, fearefull to set downe any certaine determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that councell otherwise then they themselves do, let him expound it whose sentence was neither last asked nor his pen least occupied in setting it downe. I meane *Andradus* whom *Gregory the 13.* hath allowed plainly to confesse, that it is a matter which nether expresse evidence of *Scripture*, nor the tradition of the Fathers, nor the sentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too surly and selfewilled which defending either opinion, are displeased with them by whom the other is mainetained; finallie that the Fathers of *Trent* haue not set downe any certainetie about this question, but left it doubtfull and indifferent. Now whereas my wordes which I had set downe in writing before I vttered them were indeed these, *Although they imagin that the mother of our Lord Iesus Christ were for his honour and by his speciall protection preserved*

Annotat. in  
Rom. 5. Sec 9.

Lib. 5. defens.  
fidei.



cleane from all sinne, yet concerning the rest they teach as wee do that all h<sup>ave</sup> sinned. Against my words they might with more pretence take exception because so many of them thinke she had sin: which exception notwithstanding, the proposition being indefinite and the matter contingent, they cannot take, because they grant that many whom they count graue & devout amongst them thinke that she was cleere from all sin. But whether M<sup>r</sup> Travers did note my words himselfe, or take them vpon the credit of some other ma<sup>n</sup>s noting, the tables were faulty wherein it was noted: *All men sinner even the blessed Virgin.* Whē my speech was rather *All men except the blessed Virgin.* To leaue this; another fault he findeth that I said, *They teach Christs righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sinne, & differ from vs only in the applying of it.* I did say & do, *They teach as we doe, that although Christ be the only meritorious cause of our iustice, yet as a medicin which is made for health doth not heale by being made, but by being applied: So by the merits of Christ there can be no life nor iustification without the application of his merits: But about the manner of applying Christ, about the number & power of meanes whereby he is applied we dissent from them.* This of our dissenting from them is acknowledged.

14. Our agreement in the former is denied to bee such as I pretend. Let their owne words therefore, and mine concerning them be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confesse, *Our sinnes doth shut and onely the merits of Christ open the entring vnto blessednesse.* And *Soto*, it is put for a ground, that all since the fall of Adam obtaine salvation only by the passion of Christ: howbeit as no  
cause

On bod. lib. 3

In 4 Sent. d. 1  
qu. 4. art. 6.



cause can be effectuall without applying, so neither can any man be saved to whom the suffering of Christ is not applied. In a word who not? when the Councell of Trent reckoning vp the causes of our first iustificatiō, doth name no end but Gods glory and our felicitie; no efficient, but his mercy; no instrumentall, but baptisme; no meritorious, but Christ. whome to haue merited the taking away of no sinne but originall is not their opinion: which himselfe wil. find when hee hath well examined his witnesses *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Jesuits are marvellous angry with the men out of whose glearnings M<sup>r</sup> Travers seemeth to haue taken this, they openly disclaime it, they say plainely, of all the Catholiks there is no one that did ever so teach, they make solemne protestation, wee beleue and professe that Christ vpon the Crosse hath altogether satisfied for all sinnes, as well originall as actuell. Indeed they teach that the merit of Christ doth not take away actuall sinne in such sort as it doth originall, wherein if their doctrine had beene vnderstood, I for my speech had never been accused. As for the councell of Trent concerning inherent righteousnesse what doth it here? No man doubteth but they make another formall cause of iustification then wee doe. In respect whereof, I haue shewed alreadie that wee disagree about the very effēce of that which cureth our spirituall disease. Most true it is which the grād Philosopher hath Every man iudgeth well of that which he knoweth, & therefore till we knowe the things throughly whereof wee iudge, it is a point of iudgement to stay our iudgment.

15 Thus much labour being spent in discovering the vnfoundnes of my doctrine, some paines he taketh

*Bellarmin. Iudic.  
de lib. Concor.  
Mendac. 18.  
Nemo Catholicorum unquam  
sic docuit; sed  
credimus, &  
profitemur  
Christum in cruce  
pro omnibus  
omnino peccatis  
satisfecisse, tam  
originalibus,  
quā actualibus.*

further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that I bestowed my whole howre and more, my time & more then my time in discourses utterly impertinent to my text. Which if I had done it might haue past without complaining of to the Prīvie Counsell.

16 But I did worse as he saith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures and my ordinary calling, and discoursed upon schoole points, and questions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no lecture in the Law or in Physicke. And except the bounds of ordinary calling may bee drawne like a purse, howe are they so much wider vnto him then to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinarie calling should reprove that in me which hee vnderstood not, and I labouring that both he & others might vnderstand, could not do this without forsaking my calling. The matter whereof I spake was such as being at the first by me but lightly touched, hee had in that place openly contradicted and solemnly taken vpon him to disprove. If therefore it were a schoole question & vnfit to be discoursed of there, that which was in me but a proposition only at the first, wherefore made he a probleme of it? Why tooke he first vpon him to maintaine the negatiue of that which I had affirmatiue lie spoken only to shew mine owne opinion, little thinking that ever it would haue a question. Of what nature soever the question were of I could do no lesse then there explaine my selfe to them, vnto whom I was accused of vnfound doctrine, wherein if to shew what had beene through ambiguitie mistaken in my wordes, or misapplied by him in this cause against me, I vsed the distinctions and helps of schooles, I trust that here.

in I haue committed no vnlawfull thing. These schoole implements are acknowledged by \* graue and wise me not vnprofitable to haue beene invented? The most approved for learning and iudgment do vse them without blame; the vse of them hath beene wel liked in some that haue taught even in this verie place before me; the qualitie of my hearers is such, that I could not but think them of capacitie very sufficient for the most part to conceiue harder then I vsed any; the cause I had in hand did in my iudgement necessarilie require them which were then vsed; when my words spoken generally without distinctions had beene perverted, what other waie was there for me but by distinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appeare to all men whether they were consonant to truth or no. And although *M<sup>r</sup> Travers* be so invred with the citty that he thinketh it vnmeete to vse my speech which fawoureth of the schoole, yet his opinion is no canon, though vnto him his minde being troubled, my speech did seeme like fetters & manicles, yet there might be some more calmly affected which thought otherwise; his private iudgement will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I spake *were neither of edification nor truth.* They might edifie some other for anie thing he knoweth, and bee true for anietling he proveth to the contrarie. For it is no prooffe to crie *Absurdities, the like whereunto haue not beene harde in publique places within this Land since Queene Maries daies.* If this came in earnest from him I am sorie to see him so much offended without cause. More sorie that his fit should be so extreame to make him speake he knoweth not what. That

*Calv. 1. 7. lib. 1.  
cap. 6. Sect. 9.*

I neither affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church. *Mihi pro minimo est*, It doth not much moue me when M<sup>r</sup> Travers doth say that which I trust a greater then M<sup>r</sup> Travers will gaine saie.

17 Now let all this which hitherto he hath said be graunted him, let it be as he would haue it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching bee as much disallowed by all mens iudgement as by his, what is all this to his purpose? He alleadgeth this to bee the cause why hee bringeth it in: The high Commissioners charge him with an indiscretion and want of dutie, in that hee inueighed against certaine points of doctrine taught by me as erroneous not conferring first with me nor complaining of it to them. Which faults a sea of such matter as hee hath hitherto waded in will never be able to scowre from him. For the avoiding of Schisme and disturbance in the Church which must needs grow if all men might thinke what they list and speake openlie what they thinke; therefore by a \* decree agreed vpon by the Bishops & confirmed by her Maiesties authoritie it was ordered that erroneous doctrine if it were taught publicquely should not be publicquely refuted, but that notice thereof shoulde bee giuen vnto such as are by her Highnesse appointed to heare & to determine such causes. For breach of which order when he is charged with lacke of duety, all the faults that can bee heaped vpon mee will make but a

\* In the Advertisement published in the 7. yeare of her Maiesties raigne. If any preacher or person, vicar, or curat so licensed shall fortune, to preach any matter tending to dis-

tion or to derogation of the religion and doctrine receaved, that the hearers denounce the same to the Ordinary or the next Bishop of the same place, but not openly to contrary or to impugn the same speech so disorderly vttered whereby may grow offense and disquiet of the people, but shall be convinced and reproved by the Ordinarie after such agreeable order as shall be seene to him according to the gravitie of the offence. And that it be presented within one moneth after the words spoken.

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weak defence for him: as surely his defence is not much stronger when he alleageth for himselfe that, *He was in some hope his speech in proving the truth and clearing those scruples which I had in my selfe, might cause me either to imbrace sound doctrine or suffer it to be imbraced of others, which if I did he should not need to cōplain; that, It was meet he should discover first what I had sowne and make it manifest to be tares, and then desire their sithe to cut it downe; that conscience did binde him to do otherwise the the foresaid order requireth; that hee was unwilling to deale in that publique manner and wished a more convenient way were taken for it; that hee had resolved to haue protested the next Sabbath day that he would some other way satisfie such as should require it and not deale more in that place.* Be it imagined [let me not be taken as if I did compare th' offenders when I do not, but their answers only] be it imagined that a libeller did make this apologie for himselfe, I am not ignorant that if I haue iust matter against any man the Law is open, there are iudges to heare it, and courts where it ought to be complained of; I haue taken an other course against such or such a man, yet without breach of duty for as much as I am able to yeeld a reason of my doing, I conceiue some hope that a little discredit amongst men would make him ashamed of himselfe, and that his shame would worke his amendment; which if it did, other accusation there should not need; could his answere be thought sufficient, could it in the iudgment of discreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope which *Mr. Tavers* conceived to reclaime me by publique speech iustifie his fault against the established order of the Church.

18 His thinking it meete *he should first openly discover to the people the taxes that had been sowne amongst the,* and then require the hand of authority to mowe them down, doth only make it a question whether his opinion that this was meet may be a priviledge or protection against that lawfull constitution which had before determined of it as of a thing vnmeet. Which question I leaue for them to discusse whom it most concerneth. If the order be such that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing so precious as a good conscience, the perill whereof could be no greater to him then it needs must bee to all others whom it toucheth in like causes, when this is evident it wilbe a most effectuall motiue not only for England, but also for other reformed Churches even *Geneva* it selfe [for they haue the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconvenience be observed. In the meane while the breach of it may in such consideration be pardoned [which truly I wish howsoever it be,] yet hardly defended as long as it standeth in force vncancelled.

19 Now whereas he confesseth another way had *beene more convenient*, and that he found in himselfe secret vnwillingnesse to doe that which he did, doth hee not say plainely in effect that the light of his owne vnderstanding proved the way he tooke peruerse & crooked; reason was so plaine and pregnant against it, that his mind was alienated; his will averted to another course? yet somewhat there was which so farre overruled, that it must needs bee done even against the very streame, what doth it bewraie? Finally his purposed protestation whereby hee meant openly to make it knowne



knowne that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would satisfie men otherwise, *and deale no more in this place*; sheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to stay himselfe from further offending, but it serueth not his turne. Hee is blamed because the thing he had done was amisse, & his answer is, That which I would haue done afterwards had beene well, if so bee I had done it.

20 But as in this hee standeth perswaded that hee hath done nothing besides dutie, so hee taketh it hardly that the high Commissioners should charge him with indiscretion. Wherefore as if hee could so wash his hands he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himselfe: how he waded in matters of smaller waight, and how in things of greater moment; how warily he dealt; how *naturally* he took his things *rising from the text*; how closely he kept himselfe to the *Scripture he tooke in hand*; how much paines he tooke to *confirm the necessity of beleeving iustification by Christ only*, and to shewe how the Church of Rome denyeth that *a man is saved by faith alone without workes of the Law*; what the *sonnes of thunder* would haue done if they had beene in his case; that his answer was *verie temperate without immodest or reproachfull speech*; that when he might before all haue reprov'd me, he did not, but contented himselfe with exhorting me before all to follow Nathans example and *revisit my doctrine*; when hee might haue followed S. Pauls example in reprov'g Peter, he did not, but exhorted me with Peter to *endure to be withstood*. This testimonie of his discreet carrying himselfe in the handling of his matter being more a-



greeably framed & giuen him by an other then by himselfe, might make somewhat for the praise of his person, but for defence of his action vnto them by whom he is thought vndiscreet for not conferring privately before he spake, will it serue to answere that when he spake he did it consideratly? He perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reasons such as they are. As namely how he purposed at the first to take an other course and that was this, *publicly to deliver the truth of such doctrine as I had otherwise taught; and at convenient opportunitie to conferre with mee vpon such points.* Is this the rule of Christ, If thy brother offend openly in his speech, controule it first with contrary speech openly and conferre with him afterwards vpon it when convenient opportunitie serveth? Is there anie law of God or of man wherevpon to ground such a resolution, any Church extant in the world where teachers are allowed thus to do or to be done vnto? He cannot but see how weak an alligation it is when hee bringeth in his following this course first in one matter and so afterwards in another to approue himselfe now following it againe. For if the very purpose of doing a thing so vncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault, and doth the doing of it twice make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The waight of the cause which is his thirde defence relieveth him as little. The waightier it was the more it required considerat advise and consultation, the more it stood him vpon to take good heed that nothing were rashlie done or spoken in it. But hee meaneth waightie in regard of the wonderfull danger except hee had presently withstood me without expecting a time  
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of conference. *This cause being of such moment that might prejudice the faith of Christ, incourage the ill affected to continue still in their damnable waies, and other weake in faith to suffer themselves to be seduced to the destruction of their soules; he thought it his bounden duetie to speake before hee talked with me.* A man that shoulde read this and not know what I had spoken might imagine that I had at the least denied the Divinitie of Christ. But they which were present at my speech and can testifie that nothing passed my lips more then is contained in their writings, whom for soundnes of doctrine, learning, & iudgment *M<sup>r</sup> Travers* himselfe doth, I dare say, not only allow, but honor, they which hard and doe know that the doctrine here signified in so fearefull manner, the doctrine that was so dangerous to the faith of Christ, that was so likely to encourage ill affected men to continue still in damnable waies, that gaue so great cause to tremble for fear of the present destruction of Soules was only this, I doubt not but God was mercifull to saue thousands of our Fathers living heretofore in popish superstitions, in as much as they sinned ignorantly, and this spoken in a sermon the greatest part whereof was against poperie, they will hardly be able to discerne how Christianity should herewith be so grievously shaken.

21 Whereby his fourth excuse is also taken from him, For what doth it boot him to saie *The time was short wherein he was to preach after me;* when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, surely might haue bin either very well omitted, or at the least more conveniently for a while differd, even by their iudgements that cast the most favourable aspect towards these his

hasty proceedings. The poyson which men had taken at my hands was not so quicke and strong in operation as in eight daies to make them past cure; by eight daies delay there was no likelyhood that the force and power of his speech could dy; longer meditation might bring better and stronger proofes to mind then extemporall dexteritie could furnish him with; and who doth know whether time the only mother of sound iudgement and discreet dealing, might haue given that actiō of his some better ripenesse, which by so great festination hath as a thing borne out of time brought small ioy vnto him that begat it? Doth hee thinke it had not beene better that neither my speech had seemed in his eies as an arrow sticking in a thigh of flesh, nor his own as a child whereof he must needs bee delivered by an houre? His last way of disburdening himselfe is by casting his load vpon my backe, as if I had brought him by former cōferences out of hope that any fruit would ever come of conferring with me. Loath I am to rip vp those conferences whereof he maketh but a slippery & loose relation. In one of them the question betweene vs was, whether the perswasion of faith concerning remission of sinnes, eternall life, & whatsoeuer God doth promise vnto man, be as free from doubting as the perswasion which we haue by sense concerning things tasted, felt, and seene. For the negative I mentioned their example whose faith in Scripture is most commended, and the experience which all faithfull men haue continually had of themselves. For prooffe of the affirmative which he held, I desiring to haue some reason, heard nothing but *All good writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length

length vpon request to see some one of them; *Peter Martyr's* common places were brought, where the leaues were turned downe at a place sounding to this effect, that *The Gospell doth make Christians more vertuous, then morall Philosophie doth make Heathens*: which came not neere the question by many miles.

22 In the other conference hee questioned about the matter of reprobation, misliking first that I had termed God a permissiue and no positiue cause of the evil which the schoolemen doe call *malum culpe*; secondly that to their obiection who say, *If I be elected, do what I will, I shall be saued*, I had answered that the will of God in this thing is not absolute but conditionall to saue his elect beleeuing, fearing, and obediently serving him; Thirdly that to stop the mouthes of such as grudge & repine against God for reiecting castawaies, I had taught that they are not reiecte no not in the purpose and counsell of God, without a foreseene worthinesse of reiection going, though not in time, yet in order before. For if Gods electing do in order (as needs it must) presuppose the foresight of their being that are elected though they be elected before they bee, nor only the positiue foresight of their being but also the permissiue of their being miserable, because electio is through mercy, and mercy doth alwaies presuppose miserie: it followeth that the very chosen of God acknowledge to the praise of the riches of his exceeding free compassion, that when he in his secret determination set it downe, *Those shall liue and not die*, they lay as vglie spectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung & mire, as vlcers putrified in their fathers loines, miserable, wor

thie to be had in detestation; & shall any forsaken creature be able to say vnto God, Thou didst plunge me into the depth and assigne me vnto endlesse torments onely to satisfie thine owne will finding nothing in mee for which J could seeme in thy sight so well worthie to feele everlasting flames?

23 When J saw that Mr *Travers* carped at these things only because they lay not open, J promised at some cōvenient time to make them cleere as light both to him and all others. Which if they that reprove mee will not grant me leaue to doe, they must thinke that they are for some cause or other more desirous to haue me reputed an vnfound man, then willing that my sincere meaning should appeare and be approued. When J was farther asked what my groundes were, J answered that Saint Paules wordes concerning this cause were my groundes. His next demaunde, what Author J did followe in expounding Saint *Paule* and gathering the doctrine out of his words, against the iudgement, (he saith) of *All Churches* and *All good writers*. I was well assured that to controule this overreaching speech, the sentences which I might haue cited out of Church confessions, together with the best learned monuments of former times, and not the meannest of our owne, were mo in number then perhaps he would willingly haue hard of, but what had this booted me? For although he himselfe in generalitie do much vse those formall speeches *All Churches* and *All good writers*: yet as he holdeth it in pulpit lawfull to say in generall the *Painims* thinke this, or the *Heathens* that, but vnto vnto vnlawfull to cite anie sentence of theirs that say it;

so hee gaue mee at that time great cause to thinke that my parricular alleadging of other mens words to shew their agreement with mine, would as much haue displeased his minde as the thing it selfe for which it had beene alleadged. For he knoweth how often hee hath in publique place bitten me for this, although I did neuer in any sermon vse many of the sentences of other writers, and do make most without any, having alwaies thought it meetest neither to affect nor to contemne the vse of them. 2

24 He is not ignorant that in the very entrance to the talke which we had privately at that time, to proue it vnlawfull altogether in preaching either for confirmation, declaratio, or otherwise to cite any thing but mere canonicall scripture, he brought in *The scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable to teach, improve, &c.* Vrging much the vigour of these two clausēs *The man of God* and *every good worke*. If therefore the worke were good which he required at my hāds, if privately to shew why I thought the doctrin I had delivered to be according to *S. Pauls* meaning were a good worke, can they which take the place before alleaged for a law condemning every man of God who in doing the worke of preaching any way vseth humane authoritie, like it in mee if in the worke of strengthening that which I had preached, I should bring forth the testimonies and the sayings of mortall men? I alleaged therefore that which might vnder no pretence in the worlde bee disallowed namelie reasons, not meaning thereby my own reason as now it is reported, but true sound divine reason; reason whereby those conclusions might be out of *S. Paule*  
de.



demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of only; reason proper to that science whereby the things of God are knowne; Theologicall reason without principles in scripture that are plaine soundly deduceth more doubtfull inferences, in such sort that being hard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnāt vnto them received, but whatsoever was before otherwise by miscollecting gathered out of darke places, is thereby forced to yeeld it selfe, and the true cōsonant meaning of sentences not vnderstoode is brought to light. This is the reason which I intended. If it were possible for mee to escape the Ferula in any thing I do or speak, I had vndoubtedly escaped it in this. In this I did that which by some is inioined as the only allowable, but granted by all as the most sure and safe way whereby to resoluē things doubted of in matters appertaining to faith and christian religion. So that *Mr Travers* had here smal cause given him to be weary of conferring, vnlesse it were in other respects then that poore one which is here pretended, that is to say, the little hope hee had of doing mee any good by conference.

25 Yet behold his first reason of not complaining to the high Commission is, that sith I offended onely through an overcharitable inclination, hee conceaued good hope, when I should see the truth cleared & some scruples which were in my mind removed by his diligence, I would yeeld. But what experience soever hee had of former conferences, how small soever his hope was that fruit would come of it if he should haue conferred, wil any man iudge this a cause sufficient why to open his mouth in publike without any one worde



privately spoken? He might haue considered that men doe sometimes reape where they sowe but with small hope; hee might haue considered that although vnto me (whereof he was not certaine neither) but if to mee his labour should be as water spilt or powred into a torne dish, yet to him it could not bee fruitlesse to doe that which order in Christian Churches, that which charitie amongst Christian men, that which at many mens hands even common humanitie it selfe, at his many other things besides did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in so great hast with so small advise but such as must needs bee vnpleasant and mingled with much acerbitie? Surely hee which will take vpon him to defend that in this there was no oversight, must beware least by such defences, he leaue an opinion dwelling in the minds of men that he is more stiffe to maintaine what he hath done, then carefull to doe nothing but that which may iustly bee maintained.

26 Thus haue I as neere as I could, seriously answered things of waight, with smaller I haue dealt as I thought their qualitie did require. I take no ioy in striving, I haue not bene nozled or trained vp in it. I would to Christ they which haue at this present enforced me here vnto had so ruled their hands in any reasonable time, that I might never haue bene constrained to strike so much as in mine owne defence. Wherefore to prosecute this long and tedious contention no further, shall I wish that your Grace & their HH. (vnto whose intelligence the dutifull regard which I haue of their iudgements maketh me desirous that as accusations

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haue been brought against me, so that this my answer therevnto may likewise come) did both with the one & the other, as *Constantine* with bookes containing querulous matter. Whether this be cōvenient to be wisht or no, I cannot tell. But sith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutuall wast of the parties contending, til a common enimie daunce in the ashes of them both, I doe wish hartely that the graue advise which *Constantine* gaue for reuniting of his Clergie so manie times vpon so small occasions in so lamentable sort diuided, or rather the strict commandement of Christ vn to his that they should not be deuided at all, may at the length, if it be his blessed will, preuaile so far at the least in this corner of the Christian world to the burying & quite forgetting of strife, together with the causes which haue either bred it or brought it vp: that things of small moment never disioine them, whom one God, one Lord, one faith, one spirit, one baptisme, bands of so great force haue linked, that a respectiue eie towards things wherewith wee should not be disquieted make vs not as through infirmitie the very Patriarkes themselves sometimes were, full gorged, vnable to speake peaceably to their owne brother, finally that no strife may ever be hard of againe but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and vnitie with swiftest paces.

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